21st Congress, 1st Session. [Doc. No. 277.] Ho. of Reps.

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1820

MEMORIAL

OF

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Committee to whom was referred the memorial of the American Colonization Society, have instructed their Chairman to request the House to cause the memorial, and its accompanying documents, to be printed.

March 9, 1820.

Printed by order of the House of Representatives.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The memorial of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States, by their Board of Managers,

Respectfully represents:

That, in the year 1816, a number of respectable individuals formed themselves into a society, at the seat of the National Government, for the purpose of promoting the voluntary colonization of the free people of color of the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere; and soon afterwards adopted preparatory measures for the accomplishment of their purpose.

With this view, suitable persons were sent to the Southwestern coast of Africa, with instructions to visit the British settlement of Sierra Leone, and other places in the vicinity, to select a proper location for the proposed colony, and to ascertain how far reliance might be placed on the favorable disposition of the native tribes; and from these commissioners, a report was received of the most encouraging character. After some further inquiries, and preparatory efforts, a small colony was sent out in the year 1820, and placed on Sherbro Island, as a temporary residence, until possession could be obtained of a neighboring tract of land on the continent, which the natives had promised to sell. The performance of this promise was delayed and evaded, under various pretexts, for a considerable time, during which, the health of the colony suffered very materially, from the low, flat, and marshy ground of Sherbro, where they were compelled to continue their residence much longer than had been anticipated.

At length, however, the agents of the Colonization Society were enabled to effect the purchase of an extensive territory at the mouth of Montserado river, including the cape and bay of that river, and there the colony has been established. The soil is fertile, the land elevated nearly one hundred feet above the sea, the climate as healthy as any in Africa, and the anchorage in the bay and roadstead not inferior to any on the whole coast.

The distance from the colony of Sierra Leone is between two and three hundred miles. The natives in the vicinity are divided into a great num-

ber of small and nearly independent tribes; and, being but slightly held together by any superior authority, may be considered as wholly incapable of uniting, to any serious extent, for purposes of hostility. In a single instance, an attack was made on the colony, while in its feeblest condition; but the facility with which it was repelled, renders the future security of the colony from similar attacks, unquestionable, under its probable increase of population, and the improved means of defence with which it has already been provided. The conduct of the natives, indeed, is now of the most peaceable and friendly character; and their kindness and confidence has been considerably increased, by the return of several individuals of distinction, among the neighboring tribes, who had been taken from a Spanish slave ship; and, after receiving in America the most friendly attention, were restored by the American Government to the homes from which they had been torn.

Notwithstanding the difficulties inseparable from the opening and first settlement of distant and uncultivated regions; difficulties increased, on the present occasion, by the scanty means to be drawn from the only sources of supply open to the society; the colony has annually increased in population, and now contains more than twelve hundred individuals. A government has been established, republican in its principles, (as far as the unformed character of the colony will permit) regular and efficient in its operation; and, thus far, providing the necessary securities for life, liberty, and property. One hundred and fifty miles of coast are under the colonial jurisdiction: and no less than eight important stations, on this line, are occupied by traders from the colony. From this territory, the slave trade is believed to be nearly, if not quite, banished; and the natives begin to engage in agriculture, and carry on a valuable commerce with the inhabitants of Liberia. The trade of the colony has increased with remarkable rapidity, and many of the settlers have each acquired by it, in the course of three or four years, property to the amount of several thousand dollars.

Many plantations have been cleared and put under cultivation, and so fertile is the soil, that an annual product will soon, doubtless, be realized, adequate to the supply, not only of those who have already emigrated, but of those also, who may be induced hereafter to seek for happiness and independence in the land of their fathers, and a home of their own.

Schools have been established, and every child in the colony enjoys their benefits. Fortifications, and many public buildings, have been erected; a spirit of enterprize prevails; and peace, order, and contentment, are the evidences of general prosperity.

For more full and detailed information concerning the colony, the society refer to the accompanying extracts from the reports of the Board of Managers. (Doc. A.)

Such is a general outline of the operations of the society, and such the present condition of the colony. In the progress that has been made, your memorialists have found nothing to discourage them, and from the actual state of things which they have thus been enabled to present to the view of your honorable body, they derive the pleasing anticipation of being able to demonstrate to the world, that they are engaged in an enterprize neither unwise, nor impracticable. In the course of a few short years, a small number of individuals, actuated only by the most philanthropic motives, possessing no political power, and destitute of all pecuniary resources, except such as were to be found in the charity, the benevolence, and the patriotism of their fellow-citizens, and the efforts of Congress to abolish the

African Slave Trade, have succeeded in exploring a distant coast, in overcoming, in a great measure, the very natural but very powerful prejudices of the community in which they live, and in transporting to the Western shores of a remote continent, and maintaining, in a state of perfect security, a colony of several hundred of the free colored population of their country. But a period has at length arrived, when the society would no longer be justified in relying on its own limited resources for accomplishing what yet remains of its patriotic undertaking.

The colony that has been settled, small as it is, is yet too large to be governed by a distant and unincorporated society. The acknowledged imperfections of human nature, and the uniform history of mankind, evince the dangers necessarily connected with the sudden transition of any people from a state of moral and political degradation to one of unqualified freedom. If, with such evidences before it, the society should leave its infant settlement to the inadequate protection to be derived from its own resources, it would be justly chargeable with all the evils that must necessarily result from the defective powers of control with which it is invested, for tranquillity at home, or security from foreign danger.

In reference, too, to the great objects to be accomplished, it is now time to look to other means than such as can be supplied by individual charity. The extent to which reliance may be placed on this resource, has been, in a great measure, ascertained; and if, at the very commencement of the undertaking, aided, as it has been, by all the charms of novelty, means have been furnished for removing only a few hundred out of the many thousand that are annually added to the free colored population of the country, it is obvious, that a further dependence on this resource would be little less than an abandonment of the enterprise. The evil to be removed is continually increasing; and with every exertion on the part of the Colonization Society, unless access can be had to other resources, each succeeding year must find it more remote from the object of its pursuit. Under these circumstances, the society has felt itself justified in asking the immediate and effectual interposition of the Government of the country. The object it proposes to accomplish, is the removal to Africa, with their own consent, of such people of color within the United States as are already free, and of such others as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different States, may hereafter liberate.

Such an object, connected as it is with the justice, the humanity, and the welfare of our country, and calculated to elevate the character, and to improve the condition, of a degraded portion of the human race, cannot fail to be considered as one of deep and general interest; and the wisdom of the National Legislature may be safely relied on, for suggesting and applying the necessary means for its accomplishment. Your memorialists confidently trust, that, in this explicit avowal of the real and only design of the American Colonization Society, will be found its best vindication from the contradictory imputations cast upon it, of attempting, at the same moment, and by the same process, to interfere, on the one hand, with the legal obligations of slavery, and, on the other, to rivet the chains more firmly on its present subjects. The society has, at all times, recognised the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery; and, whatever may have been thought of its unhappy influence on the general interests of the country, the government of the Union has never been looked to, as the proper or authorized instrument for effecting its removal.

But to that Government it has been thought that resort might be had for furnishing the means of voluntary emigration to another description of population, exercising a confessedly injurious influence on every portion of our country, but especially so on those parts of it in which slavery still exists.

And if, in relation to the latter, the effects of such a measure should be, to afford to individual humanity a wider field for action, and to the State authorities an opportunity and an inducement to encourage rather than to forbid emancipation within their respective limits, your memorialists have hoped that this consideration alone, instead of prejudicing their present application, would operate as one of its most powerful recommendations. And that such would be the case with the nation, they have every reason to believe.

Pecuniary aid is now afforded to the operations of the society, by an annuity from the State of Maryland; and the Legislature of Virginia, besides its early, explicit, and repeated requests to the United States, to open a channel for the removal of her free people of color, has, on two several occasions, granted similar aid to this society.

The District of Columbia, the territory of which is situated between these commonwealths, and placed, by their consent and by the Constitution of the United States, under the exclusive legislation of Congress, has no other tribunal to which it can appeal for like assistance, in removing from its bosom the same description of persons.

There can be no State of the Union, where these persons constitute, as it is believed they do in all, a distinct caste from the rest of the community, that must not perceive the expediency of pursuing the same policy.

The reception which the Colonization Society has met, in almost every instance, from the people, bespeaks a deep and general interest in its success.

And the resolutions (see document B) which have been adopted by a very large proportion of the Legislatures of the States, in favor of the plan of colonizing the free people of color, indicate it as an object entitled, in every respect, to the aid and patronage of a Government, whose peculiar province it is, in the exercise of its legitimate powers, as the exclusive Legislature of the District of Columbia, to promote the welfare of the people subject to its sole authority, by legislation as unrestricted and discretionary as can be exercised by any State government over its citizens; and, in its capacity of a general government, under the limitations of the Constitution, to suppress the African slave trade, by all the means, direct or auxiliary, conducive to that great end of general policy and public morality—a power claimed and practically exercised by the Government, in a spirit manifesting a sense of duty as high and imperative as the power is unquestionable. To that Government the question is now fairly submitted, in the fullest confidence that it will receive the consideration due to its importance, and a decision worthy of the Legislature of a free, a great, and an enlightened nation.

Your memorialists trust, that, in the connexion between their leading purpose, and the utter extinction of the African slave trade, there will be found a sufficient apology for calling your earnest attention to the present extent of that traffic, and the hopelessness of success to the very limited efforts now directed towards its abolition.

The United States are bound, not only by the general claims of humanity on every enlightened nation, but by positive treaty stipulations with Great Britain, to neglect no adequate and legitimate means of attaining this object

It is for the wisdom of Congress to determine whether any such means can be provided, and to weigh the obligations, both moral and political, which urge their energetic application.

F. S. KEY,
W. JONES,
JAMES LAURIE,
S. B. BALCH,
O. B. BROWN,
WM. HAWLEY,
THOMAS HENDERSON,
J. N. CAMPBELL,
W. W. SEATON,
S. SMITH,
WM. RYLAND,
R. R. GURLEY,
JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A.

POPULATION OF THE COLONY.

About 1,100, exclusive of near four hundred re-captured Africans, who have been transferred to the colony by the Government of the United States.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

At the time of the departure of the first expedition to Africa, in 1820, a concise Constitution of ten articles was adopted by the managers for the government of the settlement, and all emigrants took an oath to support it. By this Constitution, the society is authorized, either directly or through its agents, to make all needful rules and regulations for the government of the settlement, and to appoint all officers in the colony. Slavery, within its limits, is absolutely prohibited. Every settler, when arriving at the age of 21, is bound to take an oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; and the common law, as in force and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the new colony, was to be enforced.

Before and during the year 1821, a spirit of insubordination had been evinced in the colony, and, in some instances, leading individuals had manifested an utter disregard of the authority of the agent.

For this and other reasons, the present secretary of the society was commissioned to visit the colony, and make such arrangements as might be necessary to restore order, and secure the permanent peace and harmony of the settlement. He was joined by the late excellent Mr. Ashmun at the Cape de Verds, (to which islands he had retired for a short season, for the recovery of his strength, which had been greatly impaired,) and, with his most valuable counsel and assistance, the present plan of civil government for the colony of Liberia was adopted by the agents, in the presence and with the unanimous consent of the colonists, August 19, 1824, and the officers appointed under it, August 20th, 1824. The great object arrived at in that form of government, was, to confirm and augment the power of the agency: and yet, to admit the existence of officers from among the colonists, and to allow, on political questions, a full expression of the popular opinion. This plan having, after the experience of several months, proved itself well

adapted to promote the welfare and prosperity of the colony, received the sanction of the Board of Managers, on the 18th of May, 1825.

The plan of government, as submitted to the Board in 1828, exhibited a few deviations from the original form, though it continued in its principles the same. These deviations, he remarks, "have grown gradually out of the altered and improving state of the colony, and are neither the offspring of a rash spirit of experiment, nor have they been made without evident necessity. This revised Constitution, or form of government, was adopted by the managers of the society, October 22d, 1828.

Plan of Civil Government for the Colony of Liberia.

The necessity of a mild, just, and efficient civil Government, for the preservation of individual and political rights among any people, and the advancement of true prosperity, induces the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to adopt, after mature consideration, the following system of Government, for the proper regulation of public affairs in the Colony of Liberia.

Article I. The Agent of the American Colonization Society, resident in the colony, possesses, within the same, sovereign power, subject only to the Constitution, the chartered rights of the citizens, and the decisions of the Board.

Article II. All male colored people, who have subscribed the oath to support the Constitution, and draw and not forfeited lands in the colony, shall be entitled to vote for, and be eligible to, the civil offices of the colony.

Article III. The civil officers of the colony shall be appointed annually: and the polls for the general annual election of the colony shall be opened on the last Tuesday in August, and continued open not more than three nor less than two successive days, in the different settlements. Elections shall be organized by the sheriff, by the appointment in each settlement of a president, two judges, and two clerks.

Article IV. The colonial officers eligible by the annual suffrage of the freeholders, in which the agent has the right to interpose his negative, assigning to the voters, in time to renew the choice at the same election, his reasons for such interposition, are, *for the colony*, a vice-agent, two counsellors, a high sheriff, a register, and a treasurer: and for each of the settlements consisting of not less than sixty families, two commissioners of agriculture, two commissioners to form a board of health, and two censors.

Article V. The vice-agent shall be admitted to the council of the agent in all important matters; and shall express an opinion on all questions submitted to his consideration. He shall aid the agent in the discharge of his various duties, and in the support and execution of the laws; and in the event of the agent's absence, or sickness, the vice-agent shall become the general superintendent of public affairs.

Article VI. The vice-agent, with two counsellors, shall constitute a council, who shall meet, when requested by the agent, to deliberate on the interest of the colony, and the measures to be taken for their security and advancement.

The vice-agent shall also advise with the other members of the council, on any subjects connected with the general welfare, as often as he shall think it proper; and report the result to the agent, if proper, or act upon the same, in case of his absence.

ARTICLE VII. The duty of the counsellors shall be, to aid the agent, or vice-agent, with their advice and counsel, on subjects relating to the general welfare of the colony, whenever thereto requested by either.

ARTICLE VIII. The high sheriff shall, either by himself or his deputies, aid in the organization of elections; act as marshal for the government of the colony; execute all processes, judgments, and commands of the court of sessions, and perform, generally, the services required of the same officer by the common laws of England and the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The secretary of the colony shall take charge of, and carefully keep, all the papers, records, and archives of the colony, generally; shall attend and exactly record the doings of the agent in council; shall publish all the ordinances and legal enactments of the Government; publish Government notices; issue the agent's orders, civil, military, and judicial, to the proper functionaries; deliver a fair copy of government papers, necessary to be recorded, to the register of the colony; and manage its internal correspondence on the part, and under the directions of, the agent.

ARTICLE X. The register shall record all documents and instruments relating to the security and title of public or individual property, government grants, patents, licences, contracts, and commissions; and all other papers which are properly a matter of record, and to which the government of the colony shall be a party.

Every volume of records, when completed, shall be delivered by the register to the secretary of the colony, for preservation among the archives of the colony.

ARTICLE XI. The treasurer of the colony shall receive and safely keep all the moneys and public securities required by law, or the judgment of the courts, to be deposited in the public treasury, and shall deliver up and pay over the same, only by a requisition signed by the agent or vice-agent of the colony, to whom he shall render a statement of the public finances on the Monday preceding the annual election of the colony.

ARTICLE XII. The commissioners of agriculture shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the agriculture of the colony.

The commissioners composing the Board of Health shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the health of the colony; shall ascertain the proper objects of medical attention; report nuisances prejudicial to the public health, direct their removal, and make themselves generally active in diminishing the sufferings and dangers of the settlers caused by sickness.

Each of these committee shall record, for the future use of the colony, all important observations and facts relating to the subjects of their charge.

ARTICLE XIII. The two censors shall act as conservators of the public morals and promoters of the public industry; and be obliged to all the duties, and invested with all the legal powers, on whatever relates to the public morals and industry, which are lawfully required of, and possessed by, grand jurors, in such parts of the United States as recognise such auxiliaries to their magistracy.

It shall be the special duty of these officers to ascertain in what way every person, in their proper districts, acquires a livelihood; to report or present idlers; detect vicious or suspected practices; and present, for legal investigation and cure, every actual or probable evil, growing out of the immoralities, either of a portion of the community or of individuals.

Article XIV. The judiciary of the colony shall consist of the agent, and a competent number of justices of the peace created by his appointment. The justices shall have cognizance of all cases affecting the peace, and of criminal cases within the definition of *petit larceny*, and all actions of debt not exceeding twenty dollars. In the Court of Monthly Sessions, whether acting as a court of law, or a court of equity, the agent or vice-agent shall preside, and the justices be his associates.

The Court of Monthly Sessions shall have original jurisdiction in all actions of debt, in which the amount in litigation shall exceed twenty dollars; and in criminal causes above the degree of petit larceny; and shall have appellate jurisdiction in all civil causes whatsoever.

The requisite number of constables for the colony shall be appointed by the agent annually.

A clerk and a crier of the Court of Sessions shall also be appointed by the said court, annually.

An auctioneer, who shall conduct all auction sales, except those of the sheriff and constables, in pursuance of the judgment of the courts of the colony, shall also be created by annual appointment of the agent.

A storekeeper, librarian, commissary of ordnance, to be appointed by the agent, shall be respected and obeyed in matters belonging to their respective functions, as officers of the colony.

Instructers in all public schools, having the sanction of a public charter, or participating in any degree in the public funds, shall be appointed and employed by the regular school committees of the colony, but with the agent's approbation and concurrence.

All custom, port, infirmary, medical, guard, and police officers, not appointed by the managers of the Colonization Society, and whose services are required and defined by the laws of the colony, together with the public measurers, inspectors, and appraisers, shall be appointed by the agent of the colony.

Article XV. The militia of the colony shall consist wholly of such uniformed volunteer corps as shall obtain charters under the Government of the colony; of which charters, the following shall be fundamental articles:

1st That the corps shall always comply with any requisitions for their services, either wholly or in part, made by the Executive Government of the colony.

2d. That the corps shall ever preserve, and hold themselves, and their arms and equipments, in a state of readiness for actual service, at the shortest notice.

3d. That the officers be commissioned by the agent: and

4th. That they shall muster, parade, and serve in the line of the colony, under general officers, when thereto required by the Executive Government.

General officers shall be appointed by the agent; and when especial reasons do not forbid, shall be taken from the officers of the several corps, and promoted according to rank, and the seniority of their commissions.

All military officers and delinquencies shall be tried by a general court martial, to be composed, except the officers and guards of the court, of commissioned officers, and to sit quarterly.

A correct copy. J. ASHMUN.

A digest of the laws of the colony will be found in the appendix of the Twelfth Report of the Society, page 39.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORTS OF THE SOCIETY.

Agriculture, Trade, Public Buildings, Territory, Health, Education, Productions, &c. &c. of the Colony.

TENTH REPORT.

Between the 1st of January and the 15th of July, 1826, no less than fifteen vessels touched at Monrovia, and purchased the produce of the country, to the amount, according to the best probable estimate, of $43,980, African value. The exporters of this produce realize, on the sale of the goods given in barter for it, a profit of $21,990, and on the freight, of $8,786, making a total profit of $30,786.

A gentleman in Portland has commenced a regular trade with the colony; and for his last cargo landed in Liberia, amounting to $8,000, he received payment in the course of ten days. The advantages of this trade to the colony, are manifest from the high price of labor, (that of mechanics being two dollars per day, and that of common laborers from 75 cents to $1 25 cents,) and from the easy and comfortable circumstances of the settlers. "An interesting family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing an abundant table, is not known; and an individual, of whatever age or sex, without an ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, it is believed, be found." "Every family," says Mr. Ashmun, "and nearly every single adult person in the colony, has the means of employing from one to four native laborers, at an expense of from four to six dollars the month; and several of the settlers, when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars each."

ELEVENTH REPORT.

The managers rejoice to state, that Liberia and the adjacent country possess resources sufficient to meet the necessities of a very numerous population. On this subject, the board beg leave to make a short extract from an address of the colonists to the free people of color of the United States, dated the 27th August, 1827: "Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country; they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labor, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, cóffee, indigo, and the sugar cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests; and may be cultivated at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Nature is here constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures into the laps of the industrious."

In confirmation of this testimony, might be adduced the opinions of many disinterested individuals who have visited the colony; yet, considering the fact, that, while neglected almost entirely, as has been the agriculture of

this part of Africa, in consequence of the slave trade, African provisions can, at present, be purchased cheaper, by one half, than American, none will question its truth. Fine cattle may be bought at a little distance from the colony, at from three to six dollars the head; rice, of the best quality, for less than a dollar the bushel; and palm oil, answering all the uses of butter and lard, for culinary purposes, at twenty cents per gallon, equal, in cookery, to six pounds of butter. "The colony is wholly supplied with coffee from its own limits." It grows without culture in great profusion, and may be purchased of the natives at about five cents the pound. The settlers find their time too valuable to be employed in gathering it; yet, in the opinion of Mr. Ashmun, it may, should no new plantations be made, finally be exported, in considerable quantities, from the colony.

Agriculture, it must be confessed, has received too little attention. The reasons of this are found in the perplexed and difficult circumstances of the earliest settlers; the unfavorable nature of the lands of the cape; the habits of many who first emigrated, acquired by their long residence in our large cities, and the ignorance of all, of the modes of cultivation best adapted to the climate and productions of Africa; the necessity of employing time in the erection of houses and fortifications; and, above all, the strong temptation to engage in the very profitable trade of the country.

The inhabitants of Caldwell, and other settlements on Stockton creek, are beginning to engage in this pursuit with great decision and energy; and enough has already been accomplished to prove that we have not overrated, in the preceding remarks, the productiveness of Africa; and that time, experience, and effort, alone are requisite to realize all the advantages enjoyed by the cultivators of the soil in the most fertile and favored tropical countries.

The trade of the colony is rapidly increasing, and to this is it principally indebted for its present remarkable prosperity. "It is carried on (say the colonists, in their late address) in the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye-woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee; and it brings us, in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world. Seldom, indeed, is our harbor clear of European and American vessels; and the bustle and thronging of our streets show something already of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States."

By means of this trade, the managers are informed that many of the colonists have, in the course of three or four years, acquired property to the amount of several thousand dollars each; and that there exists, throughout the settlements, an abundance, not only of the necessaries, but of the comforts, and not a few of the luxuries, of life The great advantages of this traffic are manifest from the fact, that the colonial agent estimates the annual nett profits of a small schooner, employed by him in conveying articles for barter to several factories, established, under the authority of the colony, to the leeward of Monrovia, and bringing in return the supplies accumulated in exchange for these articles, at $4,700—a sum nearly adequate to defray the expense of the whole organization for the public service, both for the United States' Agency and the Colonial Government. In consequence of an injury done to the schooner, this intercourse has been, for a season, discontinued, but is probably resumed before the present time. The possession of larger vessels would doubtless add immensely to the trade of the country and the interests of the colony.

TENTH REPORT.

Much progress has been made, the last year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence; though, with adequate supplies of lumber, more might doubtless have been accomplished. Two handsome churches, erected solely by the colonists, now adorn the village of Monrovia. Fort Stockton has been rebuilt in a style of strength and beauty. A receptacle, capable of accommodating 150 emigrants, is completed. The new agency-house, market-house, Lancasterian school, and town-house, in Monrovia, were, some months since, far advanced, and the finishing strokes were about to be given to the government-house, on the St. Paul's. The wing of the old agency-house has been "handsomely fitted up for the colonial library, which now consists of 1,200 volumes, systematically arranged in glazed cases, with appropriate hangings. All the books are substantially covered and accurately labelled, and files of more than ten newspapers, more or less complete, are preserved. The library is fitted up so as to answer the purpose of a reading-room; and it is intended to make it a museum of all the natural curiosities of Africa which can be procured."

ELEVENTH REPORT.

The Board rejoice to state that three new fortifications, and thirteen public buildings, exclusive of the churches, are either completed already, or so far advanced as to authorize the expectation that they will be finished in the course of the year. Forty workmen, says Mr. Ashmun, in a letter of March last, are employed in erecting them. In the expense of many of them, it is true, (being indispensable to the fulfilment of the benevolent objects of its agency,) the Government has shared; yet several of great importance have been commenced, and depend for their completion upon the resources of the society and the colonists.

It is a fact highly creditable to the public spirit of the people, that a company has been incorporated for improving the navigation of Montserado river, and a subscription raised to the amount of about one thousand dollars, while, with laudable zeal, the stockholders have pledged themselves to increase the sum to four thousand, if necessary to effect their object. To encourage this object, the colonial agent has been authorized by the Board of Managers to subscribe for stock, should he judge expedient, to the amount of one thousand dollars.

The sum of fourteen hundred dollars, annually, including three hundred dollars subscribed by the colonial agent in the name of the society, the colonists have voluntarily engaged to pay for the support of schools; and also expressed a disposition to aid liberally in securing the services of a physician.

The system of government, adopted in 1824, has continued without any material changes during the year, and has fulfilled, in a very efficient and satisfactory manner, the great purposes for which government is instituted. At the last election, most of the officers of the preceding year were re-appointed, and "we commence the year," says Mr. Ashmun, "with a better prospect of harmony in the different operations of our little civil machine, than ever before. The principles of social order and of a good, equable, and energetic government, are deeply and plentifully implanted in the minds of the influential part, if not of a majority, of the colonists, and promise the certain arrival (I do not think it will be early, however) of that state of im-

provement, when the Board can safely withdraw their agents, and leave the people to the government of themselves."

The managers have nothing to relate in reference to the moral and religious interests of the colony, that will add much to the expectations which the statements of their last report were calculated to excite. The motives by which the earliest emigrants were animated, and the severity of the trials to which they were subjected on their first arrival in Africa, were well suited to invigorate their faith, and to purify and exalt their religious character. Hence, no village, perhaps, in our own land exhibits less which is offensive, and more that is gratifying, to the eye of the Christian, than the village of Monrovia. Crimes are almost unknown; and the universal respect manifested for the Sabbath, and the various institutions and duties of Christianity, have struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners. In the settlements more recently established, there is, the managers regret to say, less attention to the peculiar duties of religion, and a sad deficieney in the number and qualifications of their ministers.

It were unreasonable to expect that a people so illiterate, so little accustomed to reflection, and whose moral habits want that firmness which a clear understanding of their reasonableness and importance alone can secure, should make any great advances in intelligence and piety, without the admonitions and instructions of well educated, faithful, and persevering, religious teachers. The managers regard, therefore, the benevolent efforts of several societies to establish missions in Liberia, as promising incalculable benefits to the colony, as well as to the African tribes. The Missionary Society of Basle, Switzerland; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and the Society for Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church; have all, during the last year, resolved to send missionaries to the colony. The managers perceive, by the public papers, that one individual has already left Germany, for the purpose of devoting himself to the cause of Christianity in Liberia.

The system of instruction, so happily organized under the Rev. Calvin Holton, on the Lancasterian plan, and which seemed well nigh suspended in its operations by his lamented decease, has been placed under the superintendence of the Rev. George McGill, (an experienced teacher from Baltimore,) and though the schools are conducted by persons of color, who are deficient in the higher branches of knowledge, yet their progress is by no means inconsiderable; and every child in the colony, native and American, enjoys their advantages. We have already mentioned the liberal support which they receive from the colonists.

Large and important accessions have been made during the year to the territories of Liberia. The negotiations, which were stated in our last report to be in progress with the chiefs of Cape Mount, (the trade of which is estimated at $50,000 per annum,) have been satisfactorily concluded; and the actual possession of the soil, which may ultimately be expected, could not, in the opinion of the colonial agent, at the present time, be more advantageous to the colony. The chiefs have stipulated to build a large and commodious factory for the Colonial Government; to guaranty the safety of all persons and property belonging to the factory; to exact no tribute from those who may resort to it; to encourage trade between it and the interior; and forever to exclude foreigners from similar privileges, and from any right of occupancy or possession in the country.

The whole left bank of Stockton creek, from the Montserado to the St. Paul's, (9 miles,) was secured to the society by purchase, in 1825, and, upon this tract, three prosperous settlements are already established. By recent treaty, that part of Bushrod Island, including the whole right bank, has been ceded to the society; and a number of families have taken up their residence upon it. It is intended to connect this tract with Caldwell, by a bridge 140 feet in length. The situation is represented as eligible, and the soil exceedingly fertile.

Perpetual and entire jurisdiction has been obtained of a territory, called the Junk, situated on the coast, forty miles to the southeast of Monrovia, between two rivers of that name, and by which there will, it is believed, be opened an extensive inland water communication from Montserado nearly to Young Sesters, a distance of about ninety miles.

The managers stated in their last report, that the right of use and occupancy had been granted to the Colonial Government, of a region of country on the South branch of St. John's river, North nine miles from Young Sesters; that the factory established there had already proved profitable to the colony; and that the superintendent of this factory had, by his integrity, so impressed the minds of the natives in favor of the colony, that the offer of the colonial agent to purchase Factory Island, in the mouth of the St. John's, had been accepted. The managers have now the pleasure to add, that an invaluable tract of land, of indefinite extent, contiguous to this island, on the North branch of the St. John's, belongs to the society. Factories have been erected on the island, and on both branches of the river, and "they form," says Mr. Ashmun, "new links of union between the tribes along the St. John's and your colony. The interests of both, and all," he continues, "are, I trust, at no great distance of time, to become perfectly identical, and one numerous and Christian nation, using our language, and enjoying our institutions, to cover the whole western coast of Africa."

No less than EIGHT STATIONS, from Cape Mount to Trade Town, 140 miles, are now under the government of the colony: and four of these have been acquired during the last year.

"We have already, (says the colonial agent,) to some extent, connected, with all our factories and agricultural appendage, a plan which has proved mutually advantageous, in different ways, both to the country people and the colony. A most desirable addition to be made to both, is a school for the instruction of the native youth and children of the respective tribes in which our establishments are situated. Whether we regard such schools as a cheap means of extending the power of the colony, as the most effectual instruments of civilizing the continent, as a noble exercise of rational philanthropy, or the best expression of Christian piety, (and the object, I think, is susceptible of each of these views,) I can think of no work, connected with the rearing of the colony, of which the accomplishment is more desirable. I think it nearly capable of moral demonstration, that the *African tribes may be civilized without expulsion from their chosen settlements and villages, and without that fearful diminution of their population, which has, from causes that do not exist here as in regard to the Indians of America, accompanied the march of civilization in that hemisphere.*"

Were it necessary to adduce other evidence of the extensive and power-

ful influence of the colonists over the natives of Africa, than that which is exhibited in the numerous successful negotiations for territory, we might state, that, from Cape Mount to Trade Town, (140 miles,) the chiefs have solemnly bound themselves to exclude others than the people of Liberia from their country; that the colony is at peace with all the native tribes; that the slave trade, formerly almost their only traffic, is nearly, if not quite, extinct; that, to secure education for their sons in the colony, is an object of earnest solicitude; that the colonial agent is not unfrequently addressed by them as head-man of the whole country; and that, in case of a recent robbery committed upon several individuals of Grand Bassa, in the service of the colony, more than 1,000 men were actually marched thence under arms, to seek directions how to proceed from the Government of Liberia.

It has been ascertained, that there exists in the interior, 150 miles from the colony, a comparatively populous and civilized people, partially acquainted with agriculture and the arts; "where (to borrow the language of Mr. Ashmun) the horse is a common domestic animal; where every article absolutely necessary to comfortable life is produced by the soil, or manufactured by the skill of the inhabitants; where the Arabic is used as a written language in the ordinary commerce of life; where regular and abundant markets and fairs are kept; where a degree of intelligence and practical refinement exists, little compatible with the personal qualities attached, in the current notions of the age, to the people of Guinea."

TWELFTH REPORT.

The general health of the colony has through the year been uninterrupted; and additional experience confirms the managers in the belief that there is nothing in the African climate to prevent the successful establishment of colonies of colored persons from the United States, but that its influences are well adapted to the constitutions of the colored race. A slight indisposition soon after their arrival in Liberia may be expected, but subsequently they enjoy more vigor and exemption from disease than in countries without the tropics.

The general aspect of affairs cannot be better described than in the language of Mr. Ashmun.

"The established state of the colony, a treasure of past experience, the confirmed health of the settlers, our better knowledge of materials for every useful work, and a path trodden smooth by use, begin now, as the fruit of perseverance in the unfavorable circumstances of former years, to requite, in a fuller measure, the labor and expense bestowed on the improvements of the colony. Every month adds to it some new acquisitions, discloses some new resources, or produces some new valuable improvements."

A very valuable addition has, the past year, been made to the territory of the colony. Just before the illness of Mr. Ashmun, a company was chartered, with certain exclusive privileges for two years, to commence an agricultural settlement, in connexion with a public factory, distant 20 miles from Monrovia, at the head of navigation on the St. Paul's, the Dey or St. Paul's chiefs having previously, for a small compensation, been induced to give their consent. The company proceeded to occupy the spot selected for the settlement on the 12th of February. A large tract of country, (including this settlement) the finest, in the opinion of Mr. Ashmun, which he had

seen in Africa, easily to be cleared, abounding in streams of fresh water, (the St. Paul's itself being sweet at the falls) which had long been vacated, and left as a sort of barrier between the coast tribes and the interior, was, on the 14th of April, ceded to the society. From the acquisition of this may be expected advantages of the most valuable, extensive and permanent character. Boatswain, a powerful chief, has already engaged to open a trade road from his own residence, about 100 miles distant, but from the nearest part of the old route not more than fifty. Beyond the residence of Boatswain the roads are open, and, for aught that is known, a free communication to the great cities of Central Africa.

It was stated in the last report, that the whole right or western bank of Stockton Creek had been ceded to the society, and a settlement upon it already commenced. In transmitting the deed, Mr. Ashmun remarks: "We have thus occupied Bushrod Island, which, containing a tract of 20,000 acres of fine level land, is destined, at some future period, to become the orchard and granary of the Montserado district of Liberia." A country, called Tabocance, situated between Grand Bassa and Young Sesters, has been offered to the society; but, though abounding in coffee, and connecting two important stations, the sterility of the soil near the sea, and the want of any commodious harbors, have rendered doubtful the propriety of its immediate acquisition. The question in regard to it is still undecided. The native authorities at the head of Junk river have expressed an earnest desire that a settlement should be established in their country, which is represented as promising well for the interests both of agriculture and trade.

It is in contemplation among the colonists to form an agricultural establishment near the head of the Montserado River; and as the soil is good, and the attention of the people directed, with more than usual interest, to the culture of the earth, they will, doubtless, prosecute their plan with a commendable spirit. The managers cannot but regard these facts, taken in connexion with the detailed statements concerning territory in their last report, as affording evidence the most conclusive, that a rich and almost unlimited country is opening to the enterprise of our colonists, and that the difficulty is not to find lands the most inviting, but men and means to plant and improve them.

The two great interests of the colony, its *agriculture and trade*, have advanced through the year, with a sure and regular, if not a rapid, progress. Though to foster and extend the first of these, has been a primary object of the managers and their colonial agent, yet truth demands the avowal, that to the latter is the colony principally indebted for its unexampled prosperity. Nor can we reasonably expect that this order of things will be speedily reversed.

It is a remark of the late lamented agent, "That the sources of trade and commerce naturally belonging to the colony, placed, as it is, on the central part of a coast of vast extent, and bordering on populous and industrious nations in the interior of the continent, are not a tenth part explored. And until they shall be (he adds) both explored and occupied, and so long as this vast field of commercial enterprise holds out new inducements to the settlers to enter upon and cultivate it, is *agriculture* destined to *follow* in the train of *trade*, and not to *lead* it." Admitting the correctness of this remark, yet the managers find reason, from a careful observation of the affairs of the colony, during the year just past, to conclude, that if trade is to lead, agriculture is to follow not far behind with a firm and assured step. A large

proportion of the emigrants are by habit entirely unprepared for any but agricultural pursuits; the knowledge which experience in trade has given to the early settlers, diminishes the chance of success to those who would now enter upon the same employment; several, who have conducted an extensive traffic, have been made to feel the precariousness of hopes founded upon commercial speculation; and above all, the animating prospects of competency and abundance, clearly apparent before every industrious and persevering cultivator of the soil;—these considerations have powerfully contributed to increase the disposition for agricultural exertions.

There remains not a doubt, said Mr. Ashmun some months ago, that the products of the colony will, the ensuing year, equal its consumption in every article except rice. Indeed, during the year, the spirit of agricultural industry and effort has, both at Caldwell and Millsburg, (the new settlement on the St. Paul's) been exhibited with extraordinary energy, and in its result have been seen the most convincing proofs of the productivenes of the soils, and the best rewards of labor. The farmers of Caldwell have associated themselves into an Agricultural Society; at the weekly meetings of which, the members report, individually, their progress on their plantations, discuss freely one or more practical questions, on which a vote is finally taken; and each question, unanimously determined, is recorded as a maxim in the practical agriculture of the settlement. These maxims the members are pledged to reduce to practice. The settlement of Millsburg commenced (as we have already stated) in the month of February, is represented as in the most promising way; and early in the last summer, the products of its farms had been sent down in considerable quantities to the market of Monrovia. An intelligent settler writes: "There are many fine mill-seats on this new territory; and it would be almost incredible if I were to state the many advantages which are here visible. Nothing appears to be wanting but means and men of industry, and in a short time the whole of the present colony might be supported by its own inhabitants along the banks of the noble Dey, and in the adjacent country."*

Trade, however, is pursued by many with enthusiastic ardor and great success: and while individuals have derived from it a very valuable profit, it has contributed most essentially to the general prosperity. It is carried on with the natives, through the factories along the coast, or at home, with the tribes of the interior, and with vessels from the United States. It must (as has already been remarked) be regarded as in its infancy, and new sources will, probably, be annually developed in the wide and productive countries, and among the populous, powerful, but as yet, unvisited tribes of the interior. At the commencement of the year four small schooners had actu-

* It has occurred to the managers that they might, perhaps, gratify this meeting, by here enumerating the different species of domestic animals, and the various products now rearing in the colony, and which cannot hereafter be wanting, unless through the inexcusable negligence and indolence of the settlers. Of animals, horses, cattle in abundance, sheep, goats in abundance, asses are lately introduced, fowls, ducks, geese, Guinea fowls, Swine numerous—Fish no where found in greater quantities. Fruits are plantains, bananas, in endless abundance, limes, lemons, tamarinds, oranges, sousop, cashew, mangoe, 20 varieties of the prune, guava papaw, pine apple, grape, tropical peach and cherry. Vegetables are, sweet potatoe, cassada, yams, cocoa, ground-nuts, arrow-root, egg-plant, ocre, every variety of beans, and most sorts of peas, cucumbers, pumpkins. Grains are, rice, the staple—Indian corn, coffee, excellent and abundant—pepper of three varieties, of which each is equal to Cayenne—millet and Guinea corn—cotton, staple good, but not yet cultivated. To these may be added indigo, which, it is thought, may be raised to advantage; and the sugar-cane, which may, and doubtless will, ultimately receive attention.

ally gone abroad in the coasting trade under the flag of the colony—several others were about to sail, most of which had been built and fitted out at Monrovia.

B.

RESOLUTIONS OF STATE LEGISLATURES IN FAVOR OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We rejoice in the increasing strength of our cause. Having regarded the work in which we are engaged, as truly NATIONAL, we are gratified to witness the approbation already given to it by many of the members of this great Confederacy. Their example will not be without effect, and their voice cannot be disregarded. We trust that the Legislatures of several other States, representing, as we know they do, those who cherish the most friendly sentiments towards our institution, will immediately speak out on this subject of vital interest to the country; and that, whenever the society shall again address itself to Congress, its application will be sustained by the declared judgments of a large majority of the States in this Union.

An Act of the Legislature of Georgia, for disposing of any such negro or mulatto, or any person of color, who has been, or may hereafter be, imported, or brought into this State, in violation of an act of the United States, entitled "An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1808."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, and it is enacted by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint some fit and proper person to proceed to all such ports and places within this State, as have, or may have, or may hereafter hold any negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, as may have been, or hereafter may be, seized or condemned under the above recited act of Congress, and who may be subject to the control of this State; and the person so appointed shall have full power and authority to ask, demand, recover, and receive, all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, and to convey the same to Milledgeville, and place them under the immediate control of the Executive of this State.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That his excellency the Governor is hereby empowered to cause the said negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, to be sold, after giving sixty days' notice in a public gazette, in such manner as he may think best calculated for the interest of the State.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That if, previous to any sale of any such persons of color, the society for the colonization of free persons of color within the United States, will undertake to transport them to Africa, or any other foreign place which they may procure as a colony for free

persons of color, at the sole expense of said society, and shall likewise pay to his Excellency the Governor, all expenses incurred by the State since they have been captured and condemned, his Excellency the Governor *is authorised and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said society, in such manner as he may deem expedient.*

Assented to, December 18, 1817.

Resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia.

"WHEREAS the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of color as had been, or might be, emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success:

They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the Government of the United States in abolishing the African Slave Trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the Revolution, zealously sought to terminate,) to renew this effort, and do therefore *Resolve*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or Territorial Governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object: *Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature.

Passed by the House of Delegates, December 15th—by the Senate, with an amendment, December 20th—concurred in by the House of Delegates, December 21, 1816.

The following Resolution unanimously passed the Legislature of Maryland.

BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, *January 26th*, 1818.

Resolved, unanimously, That the Governor be requested to communicate to the President of the United States, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the opinion of this General Assembly, that a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our National Government, of procuring, through negotiation, by cession or purchase, a tract of country on the Western coast of Africa, for the colonization of the free people of color of the United States.

By order: LOUIS GASSAWAY, *Clerk*.

Resolution of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee.

Your committee are of opinion, that such parts of said memorials and petitions as ask this General Assembly to aid the Federal Government in devising and executing a plan for colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of color in the United States, is reasonable; and, for the purpose of effecting the object which they have in view, the committee have drafted a resolution, which accompanies this report, the adoption of which they would recommend.

The committee are of opinion, that such parts of said memorials and petitions as pray the passage of a law to prohibit the bringing of slaves into or through the State, for sale, as well as those parts which pray that the owners of slaves of certain ages and descriptions may be permitted to emancipate them without giving any security, are reasonable; and to endeavor to accomplish those objects, they have drafted a bill, which accompanies this report; the enacting of which into a law, the committee also recommend.

All which is respectfully submitted,

NATH. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

Mr. Willis, from the same committee, submitted the following resolution, which was read and adopted:

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That the Senators in Congress from this State be, and they are hereby, instructed; and that the Representatives be, and they are hereby, requested to give to the Government of the United States any aid in their power, in devising and carrying into effect a plan which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of color who are within the limits of the United States, or within the limits of any of their Territories.

By New Jersey—1825.

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Legislature, a system of foreign colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would, in due time, effect the entire emancipation of slaves in our country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, *without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals;* and that such a system should be predicated upon the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one, *and that the People and the States of this Union, ought mutually to participate in the duties and the burthens of removing it.*"

By Ohio—1824.

A resolution, recommending "the gradual but entire emancipation of slaves, and a system of foreign colonization; and the passage of a law by the General Government, *with the consent of the slave holding States*, providing that all children born of slaves thereafter, be free at the age of twenty-one; and recognising the evil of slavery as a national one, and the principle that all the States should share in the duties and burthens of removing it."

By Connecticut—1824.

"*Resolved*, That the existence of slavery in the United States is a great national evil, and that the People and the States ought to participate in the burthens and the duties of removing it, by all just and prudent measures which may be adopted *with a due regard to their internal peace and mutual harmony;* and that a system of colonization, under the patronage of the General Government, may reasonably be deemed conducive to so desirable an object."

By Kentucky—January 16, 1827.

"The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the American Colonization Society, have had that subject under consideration, and now report:

"That, upon due consideration of the said memorial, and from all other information which your committee has obtained touching that subject, they are fully satisfied that no jealousies ought to exist, on the part of this or any other slave-holding State, respecting the objects of this society, or the effects of its labors.

"Your committee are further well assured, that the benevolent and humane purposes of the society, and the political effects of those purposes, are worthy the highest consideration of all philanthropists and statesmen in the Union, whether they be citizens of slave-holding or non-slave-holding States. It is believed by your committee, that the memorial itself is well calculated to present the subject in a proper point of view, and to interest the public mind in the laudable objects of that society; they therefore refer to the same as a part of this report. Your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions."

"*Resolved, by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, That they view, with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the coast of Africa for the free people of color of the United States; and that the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State be, and they are hereby, requested to use their efforts to facilitate the removal of such free persons of color as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the colony of Africa; and to ensure to them the protection and patronage of the General Government, so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

During the year 1828, the following joint resolutions passed the Senate of Kentucky, with only three dissenting voices:

"*Resolved, &c.* That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be requested to use their best endeavors to procure an appropriation of money of Congress to aid, so far as is consistent with the United States, in colonizing the free people of color of the United States, in Africa, under the direction of the President of the United States.

"2. That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Governors of the several States."

By Delaware.

WHEREAS the "Wilmington Union Colonization Society," professing by its Constitution to be "Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society," and that the object to which its views shall be exclusively directed is the colonization, on the coast of Africa, *with their own consent*, of the free people of color of the United States, has, by memorial addressed to this General Assemby, requested the expression of an opinion whether their views deserve the national support, and with the national funds, to such an extent as the wisdom of Congress shall deem prudent: And, in the said memorial, has set forth, that the system of colonizing the free people of color on the coast of Africa has already been commenced by the "American Colonization Society," and that experiments have proved the plans adopted to be no longer doubtful of success, if suitable national encouragement be given: *And, whereas* it satisfactorily appears to this Legislature, that the memorialists are engaged in endeavoring to execute one of the grandest schemes of philanthopy that can be presented to the American people: that it is no less than the cause of humanity—suffering humanity—the redemption of an ignorant and much injured race of men from a degradation worse than servitude and chains, and placing them in that country, on that luxuriant soil, and in that genial climate, pointed to by the finger of Heaven as their natural inheritance.

And it further appears to this Legislature, that the object of this society is two-fold; for, while it immediately and ostensibly directs its energies to the amelioration of the condition of the free people of color, it relieves our country from an unprofitable burthen, and which, if much longer submitted to, may record upon our history the dreadful cries of vengeance that, but a few years since, were registered in characters of blood at St. Domingo. Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, That it is requisite for our prosperity, and, what is of more important concern, essential to our safety, that measures should be taken for the removal, from this country, of the free negroes and free mulattoes

Resolved, That this General Assembly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and consider that these objects deserve public support, and that they ought to be fostered and encouraged by the National Government, and with the national funds.

Resolved, That the Senators of this State in Congress, with the Representative from this State, be requested to approve and promote, in the councils of the nation, measures for removing from this country to Africa, the free colored people who may be willing to emigrate.

Resolved, That the Speakers of the two Houses be requested officially to sign these resolutions, and forward a copy to each of our Senators, and a copy to our Representative in Congress.

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use their efforts to induce the Government of the United States to aid the American Colonization Society in effecting the object of their institution,

which is so eminently calculated to advance the honor and interest of our common country.

Resolved, That the Governor be, and he is hereby, requested to forward to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, a copy of the foregoing resolution.

EDWARD KING,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SAMUEL WHEELER.
Speaker of the Senate.

January 24, 1828.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE,
Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 26, 1828.

I certify the above to be a correct copy of the original roll remaining in this office.

JEREMIAH M'LENE, *Secretary of State.*

By Vermont—Nov. 12, 1827.

Vermont Legislature.—On the petition of the Vermont Colonization Society, the committee reported a resolution instructing our Senators and Members in Congress to use their exertions in procuring the passage of a law in aid of the objects of the society; which was read, and adopted.

A Joint Resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, relative to the American Colonization Society.

WHEREAS the members of the present General Assembly of the State of Indiana view, with unqualified approbation, the continued exertions of the American Colonization Society to ameliorate the condition of the colored population of our country; and believing that the cause of humanity, and the true interest of the United States, require the removal of this people from amongst us, more speedily than the ability of the Colonization Society will permit:

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, requested, in the name of the State of Indiana, to solicit the assistance of the General Government to aid the laudable designs of that society, in such manner as Congress, in its wisdom, may deem expedient.

Resolved, That the Governor be, and he is hereby, requested to forward a copy of the foregoing resolution to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

ISAAC HOWK, *Spr. H. of Reps.*
MILTON STAPP, *Prest. of the Senate.*

Approved, January 22d, A. D. 1829.
J. BROWN RAY.

A true copy.
JAMES MORRISON, *Secretary of State.*

By Pennsylvania—1829.

The following preamble and resolution have passed the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS resolutions approving of the object of the American Colonization Society have been adopted by the Legislatures of several States of this Union: *And whereas* Pennsylvania is honorably distinguished in having led the way in benevolent efforts to improve the condition of the African race in this country, and in having seized the first moments of her independence from foreign dominion to abolish slavery, as inconsistent with her benevolent institutions, and in the eloquent language of the Legislature of that day, "in grateful commemoration of our happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain:" It seems therefore proper, that an association of enlightened and philanthropic men, who have united to form, for free persons of color, an asylum in the land of their fathers, should receive the countenance and support of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania: and, from the success which has already attended the colony at Liberia, there is reason to hope that it may be extended and enlarged, so as to offer a home and a country to all of these people who may choose to emigrate thither; and their removal from among us would not only be beneficial to them, but highly auspicious to the best interests of our country. It also holds out to the Christian and philanthropist, the hope that, by the means of this colony, the lights of Christianity and civilization may be made to shine in a land shrouded in the darkness of barbarism, and thus atonement, in some measure, be made, for the wrongs which slavery has inflicted on Africa. As the evil which this society seeks to remove pervades the whole country, it would seem to deserve the attention of those whose duty it is, and who are provided with the means "to provide for the general welfare." Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That, in the opinion of this General Assembly, the American Colonization Society eminently deserves the support of the National Government; and that our Senators be directed, and the Representatives in Congress be requested, to aid the same by all proper and constitutional means.

MR. MONROE'S OPINION.

The American Colonization Society has, at all times, solemnly disavowed any purpose of interference with the institutions or rights of our Southern communities. By the soundest and most judicious minds in our country, it has, however, been regarded as developing and demonstrating the practicableness and utility of a plan which commends itself as worthy of adoption to those individuals and States who desire not only to benefit the free people of color, while they relieve themselves by their removal, but also to diminish, and finally eradicate, what all sober and unprejudiced minds regard as the greatest of our national evils, the system of slavery. If this system is ever to be removed, it must be, we are convinced, with the consent and through the agency of those most interested in its existence. To such, the scheme of African Colonization presents itself, and solicits their candid, their most profound attention. That they will discern its feasibility, we

have not a doubt; and the triumphs of truth on this subject in many of the slave-holding States, encourage the hope that, at no remote period, the opinions of the venerable Ex-President Monroe, in regard to it, will pervade and animate the NATION. The following is copied from a report of the proceedings in the Convention of Virginia:

Mr. L. asked, what would be the effect of this arrangement upon the question of slavery? Might the West not interfere with it? In England, Mr. Wilberforce wished to interfere with the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. The gentleman from Hampshire, who stated that slavery was among the most serious evils in this Commonwealth, might he not justify an interference with our slaves on his principles? and would he not seek to remove this serious evil? [Mr. Naylor replied, that he certainly would not; that humanity and religion did not require and justify such an interference.]

Mr. L. replied, that he had no doubt such was the honest conviction of the gentleman from Hampshire; but as Mr. Wilberforce had, from being an opponent of the slave-trade, become an advocate of emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, so also the transition of opinion in this State would become inevitable; that the West would march on to it, as surely as we march directly to the grave.

Mr. Leigh commenced upon a remark of the venerable gentleman from Loudon, on the system of the United States contributing to the emancipation of slaves; are then the States to interfere? (Mr. Monroe explained, that at this crisis, when the Western States were throwing off our slaves from their territory, it became Virginia and the Southern States to decide what they should do; that he did not recommend that the other States should interfere; but that we should find it to our interest to invite their interposition.)

Mr. L. asked the venerable gentleman, where was the power to interfere at all; and whether, if you permitted them to do so, they would not of themselves do it, without our invitation?

Mr. L. referred to the change which the venerable gentleman from Loudon [Mr. Monroe] had undergone as to this convention question; he strongly opposed innovation in 1810, after his return from France; and how then could he reconcile the change he had now undergone. [Mr. M. rose to explain, but Mr. L. begged him to let him finish the few remarks he had to offer, as his strength was nearly exhausted.] He proceeded for a few minutes only, and then closed with a strong appeal to the gentleman from Frederick (Mr. Cooke) in behalf of the *modus in rebus;* of moderation in public affairs.

When he had closed, Mr. Monroe rose to explain his views in 1810, and at the present time. He stated that the habits of the French people had disqualified them from enjoying a free government, and had thrown them into disorders. He pointed out the difference among the people of Europe and of America; and that here the people were qualified for the enjoyment of liberty. If there were any people who were fitted to keep up a Republican government, they were here, in the United States, and in Virginia. As to the people of color, if the people of the Southern States wished to emancipate them (and he never would consent to emancipate them without sending them out of the country) *they might invite the United States to assist us;* but without such an invitation, the other States ought not, and would not, interfere. He was for marching on with the greatest circumspection upon the subject. He concluded with apologizing for the explanation he had given.

Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Color in the United States.

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, held at the court house, on the 27th day of August, 1827, for the purpose of considering the expediency of uniting in an address to the colored people of the United States, JOHN H. FOLKS, Esq. in the chair, it was

Resolved, That a committee of four persons be appointed to frame a circular address, to be published in the United States, for the better information of the people of color in that country, respecting the state of this colony, and the condition of the settlers; and

That Captains James C. Barbour and F. Devaney, W. L. Weaver, Esq. and the Rev. C. M. Waring and George R. McGill, be the committee to prepare and report the said address, on Tuesday, the 4th day of September next.

TUESDAY, *September* 4, 1827.

The forenamed committee reported the following address; which was adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to the United States, and there published for the information of the colored people of that country.

CIRCULAR.

As much speculation and uncertainty continues to prevail among the people of color in the United States respecting our situation and prospects in Africa, and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to *us*, and, in their effects, injurious to *them*, we feel it our duty, by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavor to correct them.

The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty—liberty, in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word: not a licentious liberty, nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws, but that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free, enfranchised citizens of a free State. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country; and, from causes, which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget forever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is probably the first subject on which you will ask for information; and we must truly declare to you, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized. Our Constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, "all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; and these rights and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions, have their due weight in the Government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own: they grew out of our circumstances, are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary chosen from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens, ourselves. We have all that is meant by *liberty of con-*

science. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

Forming a community of our own in the land of our forefathers, having the commerce, and the soil, and resources, of the country at our disposal, we know nothing of that debasing interiority with which our very color stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation, this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that repays us ten thousand times over for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons for the happy change which has taken place in our situation. We are not so self-complacent as to rest satisfied with our improvement, either as regards our minds or our circumstances. We do not expect to remain stationary. Far from it. But we certainly feel ourselves for the first time in a state to improve either to any purpose. The burden is gone from our shoulders: we now breathe and move freely, and know not (in surveying your present state) for which to pity you most—the empty name of liberty, which you endeavor to content yourselves with in a country that is not yours, or the delusion which makes you hope for ampler privileges in that country hereafter. Tell us, which is the white man, who, with a prudent regard to his own character, can associate with one of you, on terms of equality? Ask *us*, which is the white man who would decline such association with one of our number, whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? To both these questions we unhesitatingly make the same answer—there is no such white man.

We solicit none of you to emigrate to this country; for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow-men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you, in America. But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher, if your minds are not as servile as your present condition, we can decide the question at once; and, with confidence, say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

But we do not hold this language on the blessings of liberty for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the suffering of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health, after a few months' residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has, for the last two years, been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are and have been much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations, in the United States.

We have nearly all suffered from sickness; and, of the earliest emigrants, a large proportion fell in the arduous attempt to lay the foundation of the colony. But are they the only persons whose lives have been lost in the cause of human liberty, or sacrificed to the welfare of their fellow-men? Several out of every ship's company have, within the last four years, been carried off by sickness, caused by the change of climate; and death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to the time of his residence in this country. But we never hoped, by leaving America, to escape the common lot of mortals—the necessity of death, to which the

just appointment of Heaven consigns us. But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness, as yourselves.

The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less; and, in the cases of old people and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty, from the Middle and Southern States, has died from the change of climate. The disastrous fate of the company of settlers, who came out from Boston in the brig Vine, eighteen months ago, is an exception to the common lot of emigrants; and the causes of it ought to be explained. Those people left a cold region in the coldest part of Winter, and arrived here in the hottest season of our year. Many of them were too old to have survived long in any country. They most imprudently neglected the prescriptions of our very successful physician, the Rev. Lot Carey, who has great experience and great skill in the fevers of the country, and depended on medicines brought with them, which could not fail to prove injurious. And, in consequence of all those unfortunate circumstances, their sufferings were severe, and many died. But we are not apprehensive that a similar calamity will befal any future emigrants, except under similar disadvantages.

People now arriving have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony.

But you may say that even health and freedom, as good as they are, are still dearly paid for, when they cost you the common comforts of life, and expose your wives and children to famine, and all the evils of want and poverty. We do not dispute the soundness of this conclusion either; but we utterly deny that it has any application to the people of Liberia.

Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country: they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure which never fades; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labor, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, in-

digo, and the sugar cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests, and may be cultivated at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary Winter here, for one half of the year, to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the laps of the industrious. We could say, on this subject, more; but we are afraid of exciting too highly the hopes of the imprudent. Such persons, we think, will do well to keep their rented cellars, and earn their twenty-five cents a day at the wheelbarrow, in the commercial towns of America, and stay where they are. It is only the industrious and virtuous that we can point to independence, and plenty, and happiness, in this country. Such people are nearly sure to attain, in a very few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they may in vain hope for in the United States; and, however short we come of this character ourselves, it is only a due acknowledgment of the bounty of Divine Providence to say that we generally enjoy the good things of this life to our entire satisfaction.

Our trade is chiefly confined to the coast, to the interior parts of the continent, and to foreign vessels. It is already valuable, and fast increasing. It is carried on in the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee: and it brings us, in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world. Seldom, indeed, is our harbor clear of European and American shipping; and the bustle and thronging of our streets show something, already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States.

Mechanics, of nearly every trade, are carrying on their various occupations; their wages are high; and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.

Not a child or a youth in the colony, but is provided with an appropriate school. We have a numerous public library, and a court house, meeting houses, school houses, and fortifications sufficient, or nearly so, for the colony, in its present state.

Our houses are constructed of the same materials, and finished in the same style, as in the towns of America. We have abundance of good building stone, shells for lime, and clay of an excellent quality for bricks. Timber is plentiful, of various kinds, and fit for all the different purposes of building and fencing.

Truly, we have a goodly heritage: and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted, by his Providence, to this shore. Such great favors, in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but his special blessing. This we acknowledge. We only want the gratitude which such signal favors call for. Nor are we willing to close this paper, without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons and best earthly benefactors, whose wisdom pointed us to this

home of our nation, and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it. Judge, then, of the feelings with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced—and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what that society has accomplished; too weak to look through its plans and intentions; or too dishonest to acknowledge either. But, without pretending to any prophetic sagacity, we can certainly predict to that society the ultimate triumph of their hopes and labors, and disappointment and defeat to all who oppose them. Men may theorize and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of Christian instruction, and scenes of Christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian empire, happy themselves, and the instruments of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration of the wisdom and goodness of the plan of colonization.

Where is the argument that shall refute facts like these? And where is the man hardy enough to deny them?